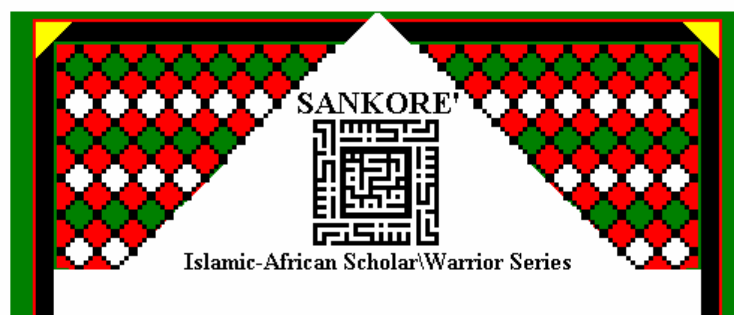




The Depository of Texts

By

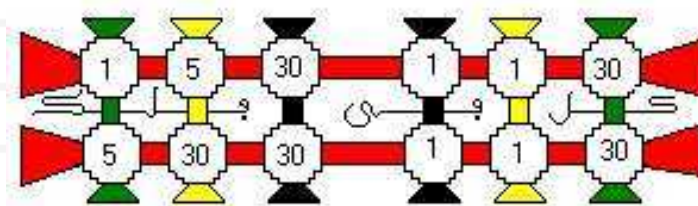
ABDULLAHI DAN FUDUYE'

Translated by

Abu Alfa Umar MUHAMMAD SHAREEF bin Farid

Naa'ib as-Sultan MaiWurno

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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَى آلِهِ وَصَحْبِهِ وَسَلَّمَ تَسْلِيمًا

I came upon this manuscript in the home of the present *Sultan* of Maiurno (MaiWurnu) of the Blue Nile in the Republic of Sudan. Maiurno is a provincial capital of millions of Hausa and Fulbe' *muhajiruun* from the western and central *Bilad as-Sudan* (from eastern Senegal to central Chad and from central Niger to central Cameroon). The *sultan* is the 16th *Sultan* and *Amir*'l-Mu'mineen of the *Jama`at* of *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye'. His name is *al-Hajji* Abu Bakr ibn *Sultan* Muhammad at-Taahir ibn *Sultan* Muhammad Bello MaiWurnu ibn *Amir* 'l-Mu'mineen Muhammad at-Taahir ibn *Amir* 'l-Mu'mineen Ahmad Zaruuk ibn *Amir* 'l-Mu'mineen Abu Bakr `Ateeku ibn *Amir* 'l-Mu'mineen, *Khalifat* 'r-Raashideen, *Mujaddid* 'd-Deen, *Muhyi* 's-Sunna and *Nuur az-Zamaan* – UTHMAN IBN MUHAMMAD IBN UTHMAN, famous as Dan Fuduye'. It was during one of my spiritual visits to the town of Maiurno, around the first week of the month of *Ramadhan* of 1999, when the *Sultan* suggested that I make a catalogue of every manuscript collected in his house. Later, he suggested that even an office be established in his 'palace' for this very purpose. It reminded me of the words of a friend of mine, Tigu Nuur: "When you have the permission from the *Sultan* anything is possible." Well, you can imagine the serenity that fell upon my shoulders at that moment. Wow! I had been given a flag!

This text by *Shaykh* Abdullahi, may Allah be pleased with him, is one of about thirty of his works in the *Sultan*'s library. There are even more of the works of his famous brother, *Shehu* Uthman. In fact, I saw text by or about every member of this sacred Fulani clan. The works in the *ajami* of Hausa and Fulfulde were abundant. There was first generation as well as third generation period manuscripts demonstrating the persistence of a common sacred style of writing. The style of *Sudan*ic calligraphy is intimately connected to some of the first letters, which emerged during the early period of Islam. I was told that women scribes recorded many of the early manuscripts because the men were actively involved in *jihaad* against every European attempt to impose unjust rule. The poetry and songs of Nana Asma'u, may Allah be merciful to her, were abundantly represented. The *Sultan*'s library embodies a lifetime of research for the individual or institution that has the patience and sobriety to carry it out. I had handy an excellent NEC laptop computer loaded with the latest Arabic Windows and the works, thanks to my IT friends in Santa Clara California. Within a week and a half, *Kaatib* Mustapha had mastered the use of the computer and was typing well-drafted letters for the *Sultan*'s *Diwaan*. All praises are due to Allah, we were able to itemize and catalogue some 389 manuscripts. Each was digitized using one of the best gadgets in the IT world! I arranged

the catalogue using O'Fey and Hunwick's methodology of data fields. I introduced the system to many diverse intellectuals and academicians in Chicago, Cambridge, London, Hartford, and Berkeley for their critique and assessment. We are presently streamlining the encyclopedia system to meet the needs of the highest quality research systems as well as act a specialized reference system for early education. Now with the help of scholars like Dr. Al-Amin Abu Manga, Dr. Umar Bello, Dr. Awn as-Sharif. Dr. Sambu Junaydu, and others, this library will be able to be properly conserved, developed, and made viable for the electronic age.

The manuscript is listed as number 48 in the Sankore' Encyclopedia (www.sankore.org). It is a prose text in Arabic with the title *Ida`a an-Nusuukh Bi Jami`ii Maa Lii Minna as-Shuyukh* (The Repository of Texts concerning Those Shaykhs From Whom I Took Knowledge). The author was the renowned 19th century scholar Wazir al-Musaalih and Amir of Gwandu, Abu Muhammad *Abdullahi* ibn Muhammad ibn Uthman ibn Saalih at-Turuudi. He died in the year 1827 in the *ribat* that he built called Gwandu.

The language of the text is Arabic and it opens after the *basmala*, the *tahmeeda*, and the *tasliyya* with: "Says the poor man of Allah – **Abdullahi ibn Muhammad**, it occurred to my mind to list the *shaykhs* from whom I acquired knowledge." [See fig 1] While the closing remarks are: "Says the author- Allah has made its compilation easy on the last Monday of Ramadhan in the year 1227 from the prophetic *hijra* may the best blessings and most perfect peace be upon its Companion. And the last of our supplications is all praises are due to Allah the Lord of the worlds." [See fig 2]

The contents of the text is a brief sketch of the scholars from whom *shaykh* Abdullahi Dan Fuduye' studied and the subjects and text utilized in Islamic education in the Central *Bilad s-Sudan*. The text can be included among the books of history but more importantly among the books of scholarly biographies.

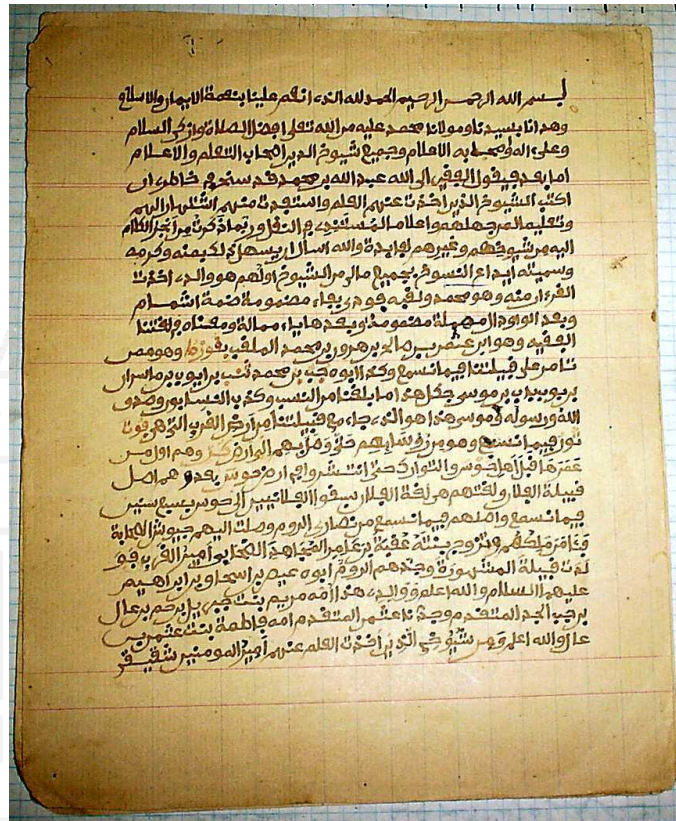


Fig 1.

It was composed on the last Monday of the Ramadhan of the year 1227 of the *hijra* (1812 C.E.) when *Shaykh* Abdullahi was actively involved in the day-to-day administration of the western regions of the Sokoto Caliphate. It is conceivable to say that the text was composed while he was in his *ribat*/capitol Bodinga Gwandu. In 1812 *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye' moved from Sifawa to the capitol, Sokoto. During this same period, he removed himself from active rule and gave the authority over to his brother, Abdullahi, and his son, Muhammad Bello. Thus, this text was written at a time when Abdullahi Dan Fuduye' had been given considerable authority. One of the key activities of the *jama`at* at the time was the conquering of the southern regions of Nupe' under armies dispatched by Abdullahi and under the direct supervision of his own son and nephew, Muhammad ibn Abdullahi, and Muhammad al-Bukhari ibn *Shehu* Uthman, respectively. This text reflects the concern that the leaders of the *jihad* gave to learning and erudition, in spite of the fact that they were busy with consolidating the Empire.

I agree with Dr. Ahmad Kani's assessments concerning the approximate dating of the literature of the Sokoto Caliphate. This idea can be carried on to include the emergence of diverse calligraphic styles and their mapping within the environs of *Bilad* 's-Sudan. The text is eight folios with an average of 22 lines per page. Each folio is eight and 2/5ths inches in length by 10 and 3/5ths inches in width. The paper type is a southern European manufactured with lines. The paper style is a style, which was utilized for registrars and record keeping during the early period of European expansion. Its origins is said to have been from the paper manufacturers of the ecclesiastic monasteries and

abbeys of Papal Rome. The measurement of the inscription is 6 inches by seven and 4/5ths inches. The ink is a traditional dark brown color made from a mixture of burnt coal, date stones, and gum arabic. The scribe indicates chapter headings and new entries as well as prominent personages with the use of red ink. The style of calligraphy is a traditional *jihadi* script. This script is a combination of the Andalusian/ Maghribi styled that emerged in 15th century Timbuktu, which later became known as Timbukti and a mixture of the Kufic/ Ifriqiyya style, which developed in Kanem Bornu. This later style became known as Barnawi. These two styles combined to give rise to the *jihadi* script that became prevalent in the Central ***Bilad as-Sudan*** during the 18th and 19th centuries. The physical state of the manuscript is excellent. The scribe includes his name at the ending of the text and describes himself: “the poorest of the disciples and the most needy of them of the mercy of Allah – **Diidaku Uthman ibn Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Abi Bakr** – whose is nicknamed ‘**Aadil**.” I believe this manuscript is a second-generation text written at about the time of the late 19th century. The reason for this line of speculation is because the type of paper used is lined paper that did not emerge in southern Europe until around the beginning of the 19th century. This does not preclude the existence of an indigenous *Sudanic* paper industry, especially when the manufacture of paper was a gilded, well paid, and skilled profession as early as the 15th century Songhai.

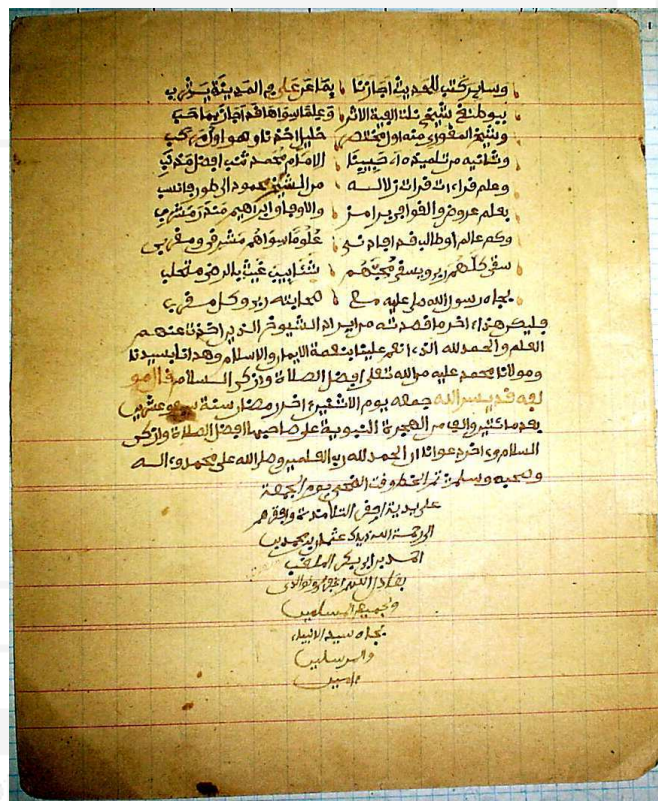


Fig 2.

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Translation

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent the Merciful, all praises are due to Allah who has blessed us with the favors of *al-Iman* and *al-Islam*. All praises are due to the who has guided us by means of our master Muhammad, upon him be the best blessings and most perfect peace and upon his Family and all the *Shaykhs* who possess knowledge and learning.

To continue: Says the needy man of Allah, **Abdullahi ibn Muhammad**. It occurred to my mind to put down in writing those *shaykhs* from whom I acquired knowledge and from whom I benefited in order to: [1] make them known¹; [2] for the instruction of those ignorant of them², and [3] for the knowledge of those who rely upon me in the transmission of knowledge³. In some cases, I have singled out some of these *Shaykhs* about whom good words have been attributed as well as others for mention, in order that it may be of benefit to all⁴. I ask Allah by means of His blessings and generosity to make this easy for me. I have named it:

¹ *Shaykh* Makhluḥ said in his *Shajara*: "In the first section of the *Kahshif 'd-Dhanuun*. ' A tradition has been narrated from the Best of Humanity, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, who said: 'Whoever records the history of a believer it is as though he gave life to him.' Ibn 'Uyayna said: 'Mercy descends at the mentioning of the *awliyya*.'" [See Muhammad ibn Muhammad Makhluḥ, *Shajarat 'n-Nuur az-Zakiyya Fi Tabqaat al-Maaliqiyya*, Beirut, 1956, p. 8].

² *Shaykh* Abu Umar ibn Abd'l-Barr said in his *Istidraak*: "Knowledge of the lives of the scholars and inquiry into the times of their demise is among the elite sciences of the people of knowledge. It is inconceivable that a person who brands himself with the title of knowledge, that he be ignorant of it." [Ibid.]

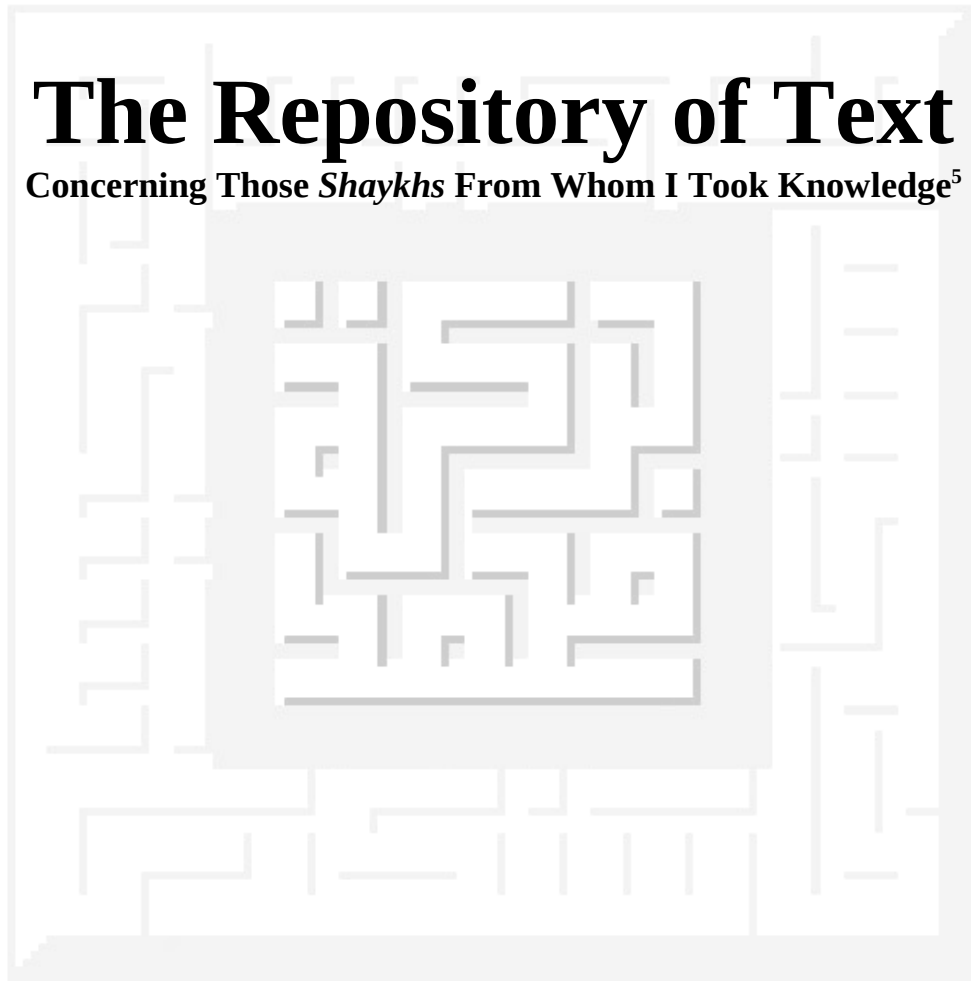
³ *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye' said in his *'Umdat'l-'Ulama*: "Allah the Exalted says"; Say: This is my Way. I and those who follow me call to Allah by intelligent discernment." Ahmad az-Zarruq said in his *'Umdat'l-Murid as-Saadiq* after furnishing this verse; "This verse explains that research and investigation in the *deen* is the main foundation from its foundation. For whoever takes matters [of the *deen*] from his own opinion blindly, then he is not a follower of the Lawgiver (*as-shari'a*)." At-Thawri said; "The uninterrupted chain of authority (*al-isnaad*) is the weapon of the believer. For if he has no weapon with him, then with what can he fight?" Ibn 'l-Mubaarak said; "The likeness of the one who seeks to learn matters of the *deen* without an uninterrupted chain of authority (*al-isnaad*) is like the one wants to climb to the roof terrace without stairs." He also said; "The uninterrupted chain of authority (*al-isnaad*) is apart of the *deen*. If there is no *isnaad*, then whoever wants to can say [about the *deen*] whatever he wants." [see Uthman Dan Fuduye': *'Umdat'l-'Ulama*, trans. Muhammad Shareef, Houston, Sankore' Institute©, 1990, p. 39]

⁴ *Shaykh* Ibn 'Uyayna once said: "The Mercy descends with the mentioning of the *awliyya*." Both *Imam* Abu Hanifa and *Imam* as-Shaafi' concurred when they said: "If the scholars are not *awliyya* then Allah does not have *awliyya*." In another narration it says: "If the jurists are not *awliyya* then Allah does not have *awliyya*." *Imam* an-Nawawi once said: "Among the most important sought after things and the most rare of majestic jewels that is essential for jurist and students of law alike to know, (and causes those ignorant of it to be repulsive) – it is knowledge of the *shaykhs* of knowledge who are his fathers and ancestors in the religion and are the connection between him and the Lord of the worlds." [see *Sh. Makhluḥ Shajarat* p. 8]

SANKORE'

The Repository of Text

Concerning Those *Shaykhs* From Whom I Took Knowledge⁵



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⁵ For the digital color copy of the Arabic manuscript used for this translations see Muhammad Shareef, Sankore Encyclopedia of Islamic-African Arabic Manuscripts, catalogue no 48, *Ida`a n-Nusuukh Man Akhadhtu Min 's-Shuyukh*, Abdullahi Dan Fuduye', 1812, Sultan Abu Bakr Muhammad at-Taahir, Maiurno Sennar, Sudan, 8 folios. <http://www.sankore.org> / <http://www.siiasi.org>.



The first of them was my father from whom I learnt the *Qur'an*⁶. He was **Muhammad**⁷ and his honorific name was **Fuduye'** (with the letter *fa'* pronounced with *damma* elongating its sound into the next letter – *waw*. After the letter *waw* comes *daal* without diacritical points and pronounced with *damma* followed by the letter *ya'* inflected with the *kasra*). In our language of Fulfulde' it means 'the jurist'⁸. He was the son of Uthman ibn Saalih ibn Haruun ibn Muhammad who was known as *Ghurtu*⁹. From what

⁶ Dr. A Kabeera gave an excellent description of the same elementary education as it was practiced three centuries earlier among scholars of 15th century Songhay. "When the child attained the age of seven its parent whether in the remote villages or busy metropolises would send it to the *as-Sayyid* (who teaches children the *Qur'an*). This system of education prevailed throughout the kingdom's villages and metropolises. The child passed its natural years of childhood in this phase of education. The child (boy or girl) would learn a major portion of the *Qur'an* or the entire corpus of the Book along with the fundamentals of Arabic language, the religious obligations along with precision and dexterity in calligraphy. All of this was accomplished by means of the wooden *alwaah* (writing boards), which helped the young disciple get training in writing using Arabic calligraphy. Likewise, the *Sayyid* would make strenuous effort in teaching the children the prayer (*as-salaat*) and ordering them to perform them. This phase of education was occupied with the mastering of well-known sciences, which included memorization of *Qur'an* with its various recitations (*huruuf*) . Combined to that would be other sciences such as jurisprudence (*fiqh*), *Qur'anic* exegesis (*tafseer*), prophetic traditions (*hadeeth*) and Arabic linguistics (*al-lughah*). Of course, to accomplish this they must be proficient in Arabic calligraphy. This is a picture of the origin of the method of early elementary education." It is a resilient system because it has lasted and thrived in Islamic Africa for more than one thousand years. Many of the modern day African Muslim academicians are the shining products of this ancient ethical system of early elementary education. [see Dr. Abd'l-Baaqi Ahmad Muhammad Kabeera, *ad-Duwwal al-Islamiyya Fi Gharb Ifriqiyya Fi 'l-Qarn al-'Aashir al-Hijriya* (15th C.E.), Ph D thesis, University of al-Azhar, College of Arabic Linguistics, Cairo, 1988, p. 422].

⁷ Wazir Junaydu, may Allah be merciful to him described the level of erudition and discipline of the house of Muhammad Fuduye': "It was a house famous for piety, good and knowledge. The memorization of *Qur'an*, the learning of diverse sciences as well as being acquainted with its inner mysteries, all were mystical secrets passed down among them from generation to generation until it became manifest and evident with *Shaykh* Muhammad, the one known as *Fuduye'*." [see Waziri Junaydu ibn Muhammad al-Bukhari, *Dabt 'l-Multaqataat*, manuscript, p. 13, I am grateful to one of the nephews of the Waziri, my close friend Sidi Ahmad Abideen and his mother Nana Hajja Asma'u for the copy of the manuscript from their library in Khartoum, Sudan.]

⁸ Due to the fact that *fuduye'* is a Fulbe title and has its roots in Soninke' as well (*fode'*), much controversy has emerged regarding its transliteration into European languages. The sometimes ignorance and chauvinism of the European 'academician' did nothing to improve this controversy. I believe Dr. Umar Bello was more correct when he suggested or reminded us that the proper transliterated spelling should be close to *fuduye'*. [See the works of the following Fulbe scholars: Dr. U. Bello, Dr. I. Makoshi, Dr. A. Abu Manga, Dr. A. Kani, Dr. H. Biboye', Dr. S. Junaydu, and the Waziri of Sokoto.]

⁹ Muhammad Ghurtu was the son of Muhammad Jubba ibn Muhammad Sanbu ibn Maasiraan ibn Ayyub ibn Buuba Baaba ibn Abu Bakr ibn Musa Jokolli. This family name was famous in the Fulani lands of Massina in the personage of Muhammad *Ghurtu* ibn Mudi Muhammad Saj and his erudite descendents. This learned clan (called *Ghurtu*) was the primary source of education in Songhay during the upheavals of the 16th century. The father of Muhammad *Ghurtu* was Mudi Muhammad Saj, the chief judge of the district of Massina. The major influence upon Songhay and western *Bilad 's-Sudan* with regard to the diffusion of learning rested upon two of the descendents of Muhammad Ghurtu, Ahmad, and Muhammadu Baghyugu. These two scholars, along with their descendents were considered the direct intellection masters of the renowned Kunta family. The Ghurtu clan was exceptionally gifted scholars who maintained erudition at a time when learning was in decline because of the Moroccan/Portuguese invasion of 1591. [see Muhammad Shareef, *Shaykh Dan Tafa: the Life and Times of Abd'l-Qaadir ibn al-Mustafa*, Houston, Sankore' Institute©, 1992, p. 12].

we have heard, he was among those who were given the authority over our tribe. His father was Jubba ibn Muhammad Thanbu (Sanbu)¹⁰ ibn Ayyub ibn Maasiraan ibn Buuba Baaba ibn [Abu Bakr ibn]¹¹ Musa Jokolli. This is the genealogy, which has reached us even though the genealogists are liars. Only Allah and His Messenger speak the Truth.

This Musa, according to what we have heard, is the one who came with our tribe from the lands of the west, which is Futa Toro¹² and was one of its leaders until he came with them to the lands of Konni¹³. These Turudbe' were the first people to inhabit this area before the Hausa and the Tuareg, and their numbers spread into the lands of the Hausa. They are the original members of the Fulani tribe and their language is

¹⁰ The designation Sanbu, Samba, or Thanbu is a common name used by the Turudbe' ethnicity throughout the *Bilad 's-Sudan*. The name in Fulbe' language means the 'second son' and usually accompanies the name Muhammad. A *Malami* Muhammad Sanbu, who, in the mid 1600s, came from Kano and settled in Kwararafa as a teacher and reformer. The name *Sanbu* or *Sanba* emerged often in the United States as leaders of slave revolts in Mississippi, Louisiana and South Carolina from 16th century up until late 18th century. This explains why the negative cognomen 'little Black Sambo' emerged in the literature of southern states as a form of psychological warfare designed to denigrate the memory of the brave, courageous African freedoms fighters named Sambu from the hearts of enslaved Africans and from the mind of their frightened white captors. [See Sylviane A. Diouf, *Servants of Allah: American Muslims Enslaved in the Americas*, New York, New York Univ. Press, 1998, pp. 24, 82 & 85; Bertram Wyatt-Brown, "The Mask of Obedience: Male Slave Psychology in the Old South", *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 93, Issue 5, Dec., 1988, pp. 1228-1252].

¹¹ In all the manuscripts in the SIIASI archives as well as those examined in Nigeria, Mali, Niger, Chad, Burkina Faso, and Sudan the name 'Abu Bakr' is omitted from the lineage all together. This omission is in all the compositions authored by *Shaykh* Abdullahi regarding lineage, such as his *Kitab 'n-Nasab* (Book of Lineage) and his *Asl'-Falaatiyeen* (the Origin of the Fulbe'). This omission by *Shaykh* Abdullahi was carried over into other composers of works of the history and lineage of this particular line of the *Turudbe'* such as the work of *Shaykh* Uthman ibn Ahmad called *Kitab'n-Nasab Li's-Shaykh Uthman* (the Book of the Lineage of *Shehu* Uthman), and the work of *Shaykh* Bashir ibn Modibo Abdullahi ibn Bellel called *an-Nasab wa's-Sihr* (Lineage and Racial Origin). However, in the work of *Sultan* Muhammad Bello called *Majmu' 'n-Nasab* (A Collection of the Lineages) which he composed a few years before his death in 1837, in which he gathered the entire lineages of each man and woman of the existing *Turudbe'* ethnicity going back to the generation Ayyub ibn Maasiraan ibn Buba Baba ibn Abu Bakr ibn Musa Jokolli. The lineage that he gives in this text is: *Shehu* Uthman ibn *Fuduye'* Muhammad ibn Uthman ibn Saalih ibn Harun ibn Muhammad Ghurtu ibn Muhammad Jubba ibn Muhammad Sanbu ibn Maasiraan ibn Ayyub ibn Buuba Baba ibn Abu Bakr ibn **Musa Jokolli**. This Musa Jokolli was among the sons of **Imam Dhimbu**. Because of the meticulousness and care to detail which *Sultan* Muhammad Bello used in composing this work, I generally give more reliance to the family line that he has narrated. For this reason, I have taken the liberty of inserting the name 'Abu Bakr' in the above family line.

¹² Muhammad Bello said: "This Musa was the one who came with our tribe in the lands of the Blacks. That was during 5th century *hijra* (1100 C.E.) based upon their claims. They also say that he, Musa, was from the descendents of 'Uqba ibn Naafi ibn al-Qays ibn 'Aamir ibn Dareeb ibn Amina bint al-Harith in Dayith ibn Qahr ibn Malik ibn an-Nadr. This Qahr according to consensus is Quraysh himself." [see Muhammad Shareef, *Sankore Encyclopedia of Islamic-African Arabic Manuscripts*, catalogue no 108, *Kitaab Nasab as-Shaykh Uthman*, author unknown, Sultan Abu Bakr Muhammad at-Taahir, Maiurno Sennar, Sudan, 9 folios. Dr. S. Abubakar said: "The Fulbe' had been emigrating from the Senegal basin, following political and social developments in that region. . . By the beginning of the fourteenth century, advance parties of immigrant Fulbe' reached Hausaland and by the sixteenth century, there was a substantial number of Fulbe' in the Hausa states and the empire of Bornu." [see Sa'ad Abubakar, *The Lamibe' of Fombina: A Political History of Adamawa, 1809-1901*, Zaria, Ahmadu Bello Univ. Press, 1977, p. 29.] Most scholars agree that "it was from Futa Toro that the *Turudbe'* departed for Bundu, Futa Jallon, Massina and other countries of the Niger Bend." [See J. R. Willis., "The Torodbe Clerisy: A Social View", *Journal of African History*, XIX, 2, London, (1978), pp. 195-212].

¹³ "The Banu Musa then became divided into five clans. The house of 'Aal, the house of Kaghi, the house of Belari, the house of Renaru, and the house of Birnighu." [see Wazir Junaydu al-Bukhari, *Dabt*, p. 12]

Fulfulde'.¹⁴ According to what we have heard, they preceded the remainder of the Fulani to the lands of Hausa by seven years. We have heard that their origin is from the African Christians of the Roman Empire, to whom came the armies of the Companions.¹⁵ Their king accepted the faith and married his daughter to the *Mujaahid* Uqba ibn `Aamir<sup>16</sup>, the Companion of Muhammad, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, and *Amir* of the West. He then fathered the celebrated Fulani tribe<sup>17</sup>. This *Ruum*, grandfather of theirs was the son of `Eissa ibn Is'haq ibn Ibrahim, upon them be peace. Moreover, Allah knows best. This father of mine, his mother was Maryamu bint Jibril ibn Hamm ibn `Aal ibn

¹⁴ *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye' said in his *Wassiyya*: "He does not despise the language of Fulfulde' if he is one of us. This is because it is our speech and the speech of our fathers and ancestors. Whoever neglects the language of Fulfulde' is not from among us. I strongly advise you by Allah not to neglect and abandon this language. If you are someone who is not meticulous in learning, then at least hold on to the greetings of morning and evening and the household needs and the like. Many factors cause one not to assume this responsibility well. Among them a Fulani being born and raised to a woman who was not from our ethnic group either through marriage or being a concubine or the like which prevent the children of the Fulani from perfecting the language of Fulfulde'. Among them is the Fulani residing among other people until the other people's language overcomes the tongues of the Fulani children. Among them is also for some reason or another; a Fulani child being brought up under non-Fulfulde' speakers until he loses his own language at a young age when languages can be perfected. Whoever loses his language at that time it will be difficult for him to relearn it when he gets older." [see Uthman Dan Fuduye', *Wassiyya as-Shaykh Uthman ibn Fuduye'*, Zaria, Gaskiyya Corp. Ltd., 1966, pp.23-24.]

¹⁵ "During the *khilafa* of Umar ibn al-Khataab, may Allah be pleased with him, he sent `Amr ibn al-`Aas with the armies of the Companions who traveled by ship in the Mediterranean Sea. Umar commanded them saying: 'When you encounter the rulers of the lands send to them the words of Allah ta'ala: '*O People of the Book come to a word which is common between us.*' When they reached, the desired lands, `Amr dispatched Uqba ibn Yaasir as Umar had ordered them to do. He passed many lands and attained his goals. When he desired to return to his city (Qayrawaan), the ruler said: 'Do you desire to return and leave us in the darkness of ignorance? Leave behind someone who can teach us the religion of Allah.' `Amr ibn al-`Aas asked; 'Who do you desire?' The ruler replied: 'I desire that you leave behind `Uqba ibn Yaasir ibn `Aamir. . . Eventually, `Uqba ibn Yaasir married the daughter of the king.'" [see Muhammad Shareef, *Sankore Encyclopedia of Islamic-African Arabic Manuscripts*, catalogue no 107, *Nasab Qabilat 'I-Fulani*, author unknown, Sultan Abu Bakr Muhammad at-Taahir, Maiurno Sennar, Sudan, folio 2].

¹⁶ The above mentioned `Uqba was `Uqba ibn Naf'ii according to Abu `Ubayd Abdullah ibn Abd'l-`Azeez al-Bakri in his *al-Mughrib Fi Dhikr Bilaad Ifriqiyya wa'l-Maghrib*: "From this dessert (the Sahara) you journey to Zawila after a days journey. It is a town like the town of Ajdaabiyya that has no wall and lies in the center of the dessert. It is the first town designating the boundaries of the lands of the *Sudan*. In this town are many places of worship, public baths, and market places. Groups gather in this town from every direction. It is from this town that caravans set out on their distant objectives and from where their branches spread out. In this land are date palm trees and gardens for agriculture watered by camels. When `Amr conquered al-Barqa ( the eastern region of Libya called Cyrenaica) *he dispatched `Uqba ibn Naf'ii until he reached the town of Zawila. As a result the lands between al-Barqa and Zawila became lands for the Muslims*" [see A.A. al-Bakri, *al-Mughrib Fi Dhikr Bilaad Ifriqiyya wa'l-Maghrib*, Paris, 1965, p. 8.]

¹⁷ The following account differs somewhat from the above version of the story: "The *Amir* of the *Turudbe*' said: 'You have come to us with the religion while we are ignorant of it. Leave with us someone who can teach us.' They left behind either `Uqba ibn Yaasir, `Uqba ibn `Aamir or `Uqba ibn Naafi which is the most correct opinion. He remained and taught them the religion and the laws. The *Amir* of the *Turudbe*' married him to his daughter, Bajju Manga and they fathered four children: Di'ttu, Naasu, Wuye' and `Arabu." [see Muhammad Shareef, *Sankore Encyclopedia of Islamic-African Arabic Manuscripts*, catalogue no 107, *Kitaab an-Nasab wa's-Sahar*, author unknown, Sultan Abu Bakr Muhammad at-Taahir, Maiurno Sennar, Sudan, folios 6-7.]

Jubba¹⁸, the above-mentioned grandfather. As for our grandfather, Uthman, his mother was Fatima bint Uthman ibn Hamm ibn `Aal¹⁹, and Allah knows best.

Among the *shaykhs* from whom I took knowledge was my blood brother, the Amir 'l-Mu'mineen²⁰ **Uthman ibn Muhammad**²¹. Our mother was Hawwa the daughter of Muhammad ibn Uthman ibn Hamm ibn `Aal.²² Moreover, her mother was Ruqayyatu the daughter of the scholar famous in our tribe as Muhammad ibn Sa'd ibn Daadan ibn Idris ibn Is'haq ibn Maasiraan²³. The virtues of this Amir 'l-Mu'mineen are well known. Horsemen have brought news of them from the east and west, so I will not prolong this by mentioning them here²⁴. My father left me in his hands after having completed the reading of the *Qur'an* and I was at that time thirteen years old.²⁵ I recited to him the *al-Isriniyyaat*²⁶, the *al-Witriyyaat* and the Six Poets²⁷. I also took from him the science of

¹⁸ Her full lineage is Maryam bint Jibril ibn Hamm ibn `Aal ibn Muhammad Jubba ibn Muhammad Sanbu ibn ibn Maasiraan ibn Ayyub ibn Buuba Baaba ibn Abu Bakr ibn Musa Jokolli.

¹⁹ Her full lineage is Fatima bint Uthman ibn Hamm ibn `Aal ibn Muhammad Jubba ibn Muhammad Sanbu ibn ibn Maasiraan ibn Ayyub ibn Buuba Baaba ibn Abu Bakr ibn Musa Jokolli.

²⁰ This marks the end of the first folio numbered folio01.jpg in the C:\Arabic Manuscripts\Abdullahi dan fuduye'viida'n-nusuukh file of the Sankore' Encyclopedia. Unlike the remainder of the folios, which contain 22 lines of writing per page, it ends after 23 lines of writing.

²¹ The lineage of the *Shehu* is Uthman ibn Muhammad ibn Uthman ibn Saalih ibn Haruun ibn Muhammad Ghurtu ibn Muhammad Jubba ibn Muhammad Sanbu ibn ibn Maasiraan ibn Ayyub ibn Buuba Baaba ibn Abu Bakr ibn Musa Jokolli.

²² Her lineage is Hawwa bint Muhammad ibn Uthman ibn Hamm ibn `Aal ibn Muhammad Jubba ibn Muhammad Sanbu ibn ibn Maasiraan ibn Ayyub ibn Buuba Baaba ibn Abu Bakr ibn Musa Jokolli. It is through this line that the *Shehu* traces his origin back to the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. Hawwa's paternal grandmother was Fatima the daughter of Muhammad ibn Abd's-Samad ibn Ahmad as-Shareef ibn Ali ibn Abd 'r-Razaaq ibn as-Saalih ibn al-Mubaarak ibn Ahmad ibn Abi 'l-Hassan as-Shadhili ibn Abdallah ibn Abd 'l-Jabaar ibn Tamim ibn Hurmuz ibn Haatim ibn Qusay ibn Yusuf ibn Yushu'a ibn Wardi ibn Bataal ibn Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn 'Isa ibn Muhammad ibn al-Hassan ibn `Ali ibn Abi Taalib and Faatima bint Muhammad Rasuulullah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. [see Muhammad Shareef, *Sankore Encyclopedia*, catalogue no 108. footnote 9 above.]

²³ Her lineage is Ruqayyatu bint Muhammad Sa'd ibn Daadan ibn Idris ibn Is'haq ibn Maasiraan ibn Buuba Baaba ibn Abu Bakr ibn Musa Jakuli. These two women, Hawwa and Ruqayyatu, extremely learned and pious, laid the foundation for what was to become the '*yan taru*, an Islamic college 'without walls' for women which also acted as a social welfare organization during the height of the Sokoto Caliphate. This organization, the '*Yan Taru*, under the leadership of two of the *Shehu*'s wives, (Inna A'isha and Hawwa), six of his female students (Habiba, Ja'ibatu, Amina bin Ade', Yahinde', Amina Lubal, Juwayda) and six daughters (Khadijatu, Fatima, Hafsatu, Asma'u, Safiyya, and Maryamu), played a major role in disseminating erudition and learning among the woman of the Caliphate for more than 2 centuries [see Jean Boyd, *The Calipha's Sister: Nana Asma'u 1793-1865, Teacher, Poet and Islamic Leader*, London, Frank Case, 1989, pp 51-52.]

²⁴ For an indebt look at the virtues, learning achievements, and miracles of *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye' see Muhammad Bello, *Infag al-Maysuur*, trans. C.E.J. Whitting, London, Luzac & Company, 1957; Abdullahi Dan Fuduye', *Tazyeen al-Waraqaat*; Waziri Gidadu ibn Laima, *Rawdat'l-Janaan*; Abd'l-Qadir ibn al-Mustafa, *Rawdat 'l-Afkaar*, Waziri Junaydu al-Bukhari, *Tuhfat'l-Ikhwaan*; Muhammad Shareef, *Shaykh Dan Tafa: the Life and Times of Abd'l-Qadir ibn al-Mustafa*, Houston, Sankore' Institute©, 1992]

²⁵ The *Shehu* was ten years Abdullahi's senior, making him twenty-three years old when he began teaching his younger brother. This secondary education began in 1774 when the *Shehu* set out on his mission to reform Hausaland. The *Shehu* developed the method of teaching as he learnt, thus nurturing around himself a cadre of colleagues and students who grew in knowledge as he himself grew.

²⁶ The text was composed by Abd'r-Rahman ibn Yakhlaftan al-Fazaazi (d. 1230).

²⁷ These three above mentioned works concern the science of poetry, rhyme and verse. They were composed around the 7th century and formed the basic itinerary for the study of poetic verse in the *Bilad s'-Sudan* since the 9th century.

Divine Unity (*at-tawheed*) from the books of Sanusi²⁸, their commentaries and from other works. It was rare that a book of *tawheed* made it to our country and I knew about it that we did not copy it from him²⁹. I took from him the science of inflection and syntax (*al-'iraab*³⁰) from the *al-Ajurumiyya*³¹, *al-Mulhat*, and *al-Qatr*³² and their like along with their commentaries. I took from him the science of spiritual purification (*at-tasawwuf*) connected to character reformation (*at-takhalluq*) and that connected to spiritual realization (*at-tahaqquq*), Allah willing, making me independent of all else except Him³³. I took from him books of jurisprudence (*al-fiqh*) by which one learns the individual

²⁸ He was Muhammad ibn Yunus ibn Umar 'l-Hassani 's-Sanusi, [d. 1486] Maliki theologian, and traditionist of Tlemcen, Morocco. He composed three works on the subject of *tawheed* (divine unity). They were called *al-Kubra* ('the Extensive One') *'Aqeedat Ahl 't-Tawheed 'l-Kubra*, *al-Wusta* ('the Intermediate One'), and *as-Sughra* ('the Lesser One') also called *Umm al-Baraahin*. [for a digital color copy of Sanusi's *as-Sughra* see Muhammad Shareef, *Sankore Encyclopedia of Islamic-African Arabic Manuscripts*, catalogue no 61, *al-'Aqeedat 's-Sughra*, Muhammad as-Sanusi, circa 1800, Sultan Abu Bakr Muhammad at-Taahir, Maiurno Sennar, Sudan, 12 folios.]

²⁹ Shehu Uthman Dan Fuduye' said in his *Fat'h 'l-Basaa'ir*: "Realize that the science of divine unity (*fann't-tawheed*) is divided into two divisions: [1] the foundations of the religion (*usuul'd-deen*); and [2] the science of scholastic theology (*'ilm'l-kalaam*). *Usuul'd-deen* is apart of the individual obligations (*furuud'l-'ayaan*) and the science of scholastic theology (*'ilm'l-kalaam*) is apart of the collective obligations (*furuud'l-kifaaya*)." [see Shehu Uthman Dan Fuduye', *Fat'h 'l-Basaa'ir Li Tahqeeq Wad'I 'l-'Uluum 'l-Bawaatin wa'd-Dhawaahir*, trans. Muhammad Shareef, Fairfield, Sankore' Institute ©, 1994, p 16.] Shaykh Ahmadu Bamba said in his *Masaalik 'l-Janaan*: "The best of the sciences absolutely is the *tawheed* of our Lord by unanimous consensus." [see Ahmad Bamba ibn Muhammad al-Habib, *Masaalik 'l-Janaan Fi Jam'I Maa Farraqahu ad-Daymaani Fi 't-Tasawwuf*, Dakar, Maktaba Shaykh Ahmadu Bamba, 1990, p.8].

³⁰ "The *'iraab* (inflection) is the changing of the last syllables of a word based upon the different governing words which effect them either expressed or implied. Its parts are three the *raf'u* (nominative), the *nasab* (accusative), the *khafd* (genitive) and the *jazm* (vowel less)." [see note 24 below].

³¹ *Al-Ajurumiyya* is the embodiment of Arabic grammar, inflection, and syntax, being one of the finest abridgements of the science of grammar ever composed. For its size, it is one of the most comprehensive treatise on the subject ever written. Its author was Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Dawuud as-Sanhaji (d. 1323), better known as *Ibn Ajurum*, which means in the language of the Berber, 'son of the poor *sufi*'.

³² *Al-Qatr an-Naada*; Ibn Hisham.

³³ Shehu Uthman Dan Fuduye' described the nature of these two divisions in the science of *tasawwuf*: "As for the science of spiritual purification (*'ilm 't-tasawwuf*), it is also divided into two divisions: [1] The first division is related to the reformation of character (*at-takhalluq*) and it is the abandonment (*at-takhalli*) of every blameworthy trait from the heart - like conceit, pride, unjust anger, envy, greed, showing off, the love of rank, the love of wealth in order to boast, false hope, and having an evil opinion of the Muslims. It also includes the endowment (*at-tahalli*) of the heart with every praiseworthy characteristic - like repentance, sincerity, fearful awareness, patience, doing without, reliance, leaving matters over to Allah, contentment, fear, and hope. This division is apart of the individual obligations (*furuud'l-'ayaan*) as al-Ghazaali explained in is *Ihya 'Uluum 'd-Deen* and as Abd 'r-Rahmaan as-Suyuuti explained in his *Imaam 'd-Diraaya Sharh an-Niqaya*. [2] The second division of the science of *tasawwuf* is related to spiritual certitude (*tahaqquq*). It includes the knowledge (*ma'rifa*) of the spiritual states (*ahwaal*) of the disciples (*murids*), the permanent spiritual stations (*maqamaat*) of the protected friends (*awliyya*), the knowledge of the self-manifestation (*tajalli*) of the Acts, the knowledge of the self-manifestation of the Divine Names and the self-manifestation of the Divine Essence (*tajalli ad-dhaat*). This division is not only among the collective obligations (*furuud 'l-kifaaya*), but part of this science is specifically established for the *awliyya* - without dispute. The responsibility for explaining the first division related to character formation (*takhalluq*) fell to men like *Imam* Abu Hameed al-Ghazaali and *Imam* al-Mahasibi. Whoever wants to follow this should take them as an example. The responsibility for explaining the second division related to spiritual certitude (*tahaqquq*) fell to men like *Shaykh* Abu 'l-Hassan as-Shadhili, may Allah be pleased with him." [see Uthman Dan Fuduye', *Fat'hu 'l-Basaa'ir*, pp. 21-23].

obligations (*fard 'l-`ayn*) like al-Akhdaari<sup>34</sup>, al-`Ashmawiiyyat³⁵, and the Risaalat of Ibn Abi Zayd³⁶ and similar works. I took from him the science of the exegesis of the *Qur'an* (*tafseer 'l-qur'an*) from the beginning of *al-Faatiha* to the end of the *Qur'an* more times than I can say.³⁷ I took from him the science of prophetic traditions (*al-hadeeth*) which comes by textual narration, like the books of al-`Iraqi³⁸ and those by way of oral transmission like al-Bukhari, in a way that trained me for other works. I took from him the science of arithmetic (*al-hisaab*), that which is complex and that which is simple. By the praises of Allah, I attained insight into the religion by means of the overflowing of the lights of the *Shehu* and through his beneficial writings, both in Arabic and non-Arabic (*ajami*). For he never composed a work from his first composition until the present except that I was, for the most part, the first to copy it down from him. I accompanied him at home and abroad. I did not leave him from the time I was a young boy up until my present age of almost fifty years old. All praises are due to Allah for that! I used to recite verses praising Allah for what came to us of spiritual and worldly blessings because of this *shaykh*. I used to say:

With the praises to Allah, I begin what I have to say
 For the blessings of Allah upon us which cease not.
 And upon the best of humanity be the blessings of my Lord
 He who intercedes for creatures when calamities terrify.
 And upon his Companions and his Family all of them
 Seas of generosity while others are mere shallow pools.
 Men of Allah, helpers of the Messenger
 He is the lion then they are his lion cubs.
 By extolling them we disembark in a safe place
 Whose shade extends beyond all shades.
 In Gardens in which we drink what we desire
 Drinks which sweet honey cannot equal.³⁹
 Thanking Allah is incumbent upon us
 All together, we who have intelligence,
 For the blessings of this world and the religion,
 For he who gives thanks shall have surplus.
 He who rejects, verily Allah has no need of him
 Then after that he will only have chains and shackles.
 The whole of the religion is *Imaan* and *Islaam*

³⁴ Al-Akhdaari is the most comprehensive text on Maliki *fiqh 'l-`ibaadat* (the jurisprudence of daily worship), originally written for children, but used by scholars and students throughout the *Bilad's-Sudan*. The author was Abd'r-Rahman ibn Muhammad as-Saghir al-Akhdaari al-Buntuyisi al-Maliki, (1512 – 1585).

³⁵ Al-`Ashmawiiyyat the second of two fundamental text regarding the rules of daily worship composed for children written by *Shaykh* Abd'l-Baari al-`Ashmaawi ar-Rufaa`ii (d. 16th century).

³⁶ The author of this work was Abdallah ibn Abi Zayd al-Qayrawaan, [d. 996 C.E.]. The ar-Risaalat along with the Mukhtasar of Khalil al-Jundi composed the two most important texts in the study of jurisprudence throughout the *Bilad 's-Sudan*.

³⁷ *Shaykh* Abdullah Dan Fuduye' authored two seminal works on the science of *tafseer*, namely: Diya 't-Ta'weel Fi Ma'ana at-Tanzeel and the Kifaayat Du`afa as-Sudan Fi Bayaan Tafseer al-Qur'an, which became widely used by the second and third generation jurist of the Caliphate.

³⁸ He was Abd 'r-Rahman ibn Husayn 'l-Iraqi, [d. 1404 C.E.] the author of many text on the science of prophetic traditions. The most famous of these was the al-Alafiyya.

³⁹ This marks the end of the second folio numbered folio02.jpg [see above footnote 19].

Then *Ihsaan* by which one attains arrival.
 O Compassionate grant pardon of sins
 Your sea of generosity is all embracing.
 He has given us a prophet who will intercede for our sins
 When we arise, all creatures will take refuge with him.
 Upon him and his Family be the blessings of my Lord
 Along with peace, as long as the east wind blows.
 Placing his blessings at the beginning of the poem
 And at its end, for us is a good omen for acceptance.
 The verses of the poor man has been completed
 And his hope is acceptance for it from his Lord.
 Composed in *waafir*, a poetic meter which goes
Mufaa`alatun mufaa`alatun fa`uulun.

In my words ‘when calamities terrify’, *hubul* is the plural of *habal* which means catastrophe’ and *duhul* is the plural of *dahal* which means ‘a little water on the ground having no depth to it’. *Kubul* is the plural of *kibl*, with *fat’ha* or *kasra* over the letter *kaaf* and means shackles. *Tumul* is the plural of *taml* meaning the whole of creation. *Habbat qabul* with *fat’ha* over the letter *qaaf* is a wind, which blows from the direction of the Kaaba, namely the east wind. *Fu`uul* is the plural of *fa`l*, meaning the opposite of a bad omen, or as if one who was sick were to hear the words, ‘O healthy one!’ or as if one who searches were to hear, ‘O one who finds!’ and so on. Allah knows best.

The *Shehu* studied the *Qur’an* with his father and learnt the *al-Isriniyyaat* and similar works with his *shaykh* **Uthman**, who was known as **Biddu al-Kabawi**. He learnt the science of inflection and syntax (*al-`iraab*) and the science of grammar (*an-nahwu*) from *al-Khulasa*<sup>40</sup> and other works from our *shaykh*, **Abd’r-Rahman ibn Hamada**. He read the *Al-Mukhtasar*<sup>41</sup> with our paternal and maternal uncle, **Uthman**, who was known as **Bidduri** ibn al-Amin ibn Uthman ibn Hamm ibn `Aal⁴². This *shaykh* of his was learned and pious, well known for righteousness, ordering the good and forbidding indecency and for being preoccupied with what concerned him. He is the one whom our *shaykh*, Uthman, imitated in spiritual states and in actions. He accompanied him for nearly two years, molding himself according to his character in piety and in commanding the good and forbidding indecency.

The *Shehu* used to tell me that our maternal uncle, **Muhammad Sanbu** ibn *Shaykh* Abdullahi ibn *Shaykh al-`Alaama* Muhammad ibn Sa`d⁴³ (the grandfather of our mother, Hawwa⁴⁴), used to attend his reading of the *al-Al-Mukhtasar*. He was learned,

⁴⁰ This text is the *al-Khulasa al-Alfiyat* of Jamaludeen Muhammad ibn Abdallah at-Ta`ii al-Jayaani (1203-1373).

⁴¹ The author of this famous Maliki text was Diya `d-Deen Khalil ibn Is`haq al-Jundi (d. 1365), Maliki mufti of Cairo and main teacher at the college called *Shaykhuniyya*.

⁴² He full lineage is Uthman Bidduri ibn Muhammad al-Amin ibn Uthman ibn Hamm ibn `Aal ibn Muhammad Jubba ibn Muhammad Sanbu ibn ibn Maasiraan ibn Ayyub ibn Buuba Baaba ibn Abu Bakr ibn Musa Jokolli.

⁴³ Thus his lineage is Muhammad Sanbu ibn Abdullahi ibn Muhammad ibn Sa`d ibn Muhammad Ladan ibn Idris ibn Is`haq ibn Maasiraan ibn Buuba Baaba ibn Abu Bakr ibn Musa Jakuli.

⁴⁴ The mother of both *Shehu* Uthman ibn Fuduye’ and his blood brother Abdullahi, was Hawwa bint Muhammad ibn Uthman ibn Hamm ibn `Aal ibn Muhammad Jubbu ibn Muhammad Sanbu ibn Maasiran ibn Ayyub ibn Buba Baba ibn Abu Bakr ibn Musa Jokolli. She gave birth to five other children, all daughters: A`isha Munumo; Fatima Kimbu; Fatuma, Yaghughu, Fatima (who died in adolescence) and Khadija (who also died young). The maternal grandfather spoken of here is the learned jurist *Shaykh*

having memorized most of what he read. He was the one who read with them the commentary upon the al-Al-Mukhtasar by al-Kharashi.⁴⁵ Whenever the *Shehu* made a mistake, or let anything slip, this maternal uncle of ours would correct it for him without looking in the text, since he had memorized the entire commentary of al-Kharashi. He then traveled to the two Sacred Places, performed the pilgrimage, and remained there studying for more than ten years⁴⁶. He later returned and reached the lands of Agadez where he died, may Allah be merciful to him and give us his *baraka*. I elegized him⁴⁷ at that time with certain poetic verses. I said:

Help O Muslims, weep for my maternal uncle
 Muhammadu Sanbu the erudite, my uncle.
 His honorable virtues were praised of old
 For his knowledge and his piety before his departure.
 For the two Sacred Places, up until ten years
 Or more while amassing uprightness for himself.
 His Lord decreed that his grave would
 Appear in Agadez after the decline of the sun.
 He returned him to it in the year 1207
 We detected from him the lightning bolts of his arrival.
 With which blew the east wind and the south wind of good news.
 The news of the calamity of death turned it
 Into rainless thunderclaps with barren west winds.
 With which joined the northerly winds
 Then our hopes in him were confounded.
 And became like terrible day dreams
 During the heat of a dessert mirage.
 Seven maternal uncles connect his Arabian line.
 So give him to drink the eternal rains of pardon
 And the fountain of contentment for the people of benefit.
 By the rank of Muhammad the cave of humanity
 And his Companions and all of his family.
 The composer of these verses ask for a veil
 Of beautiful vestments to cover him from sins.
 He is a poor slave, ignorant and in a sea of errors.
 He is drowning and dazed in a sea of illusions.
 Miserable, speaking Arabic incorrectly and non-Arab in tribe
 His mother and father are from the offspring of `Aal.

Muhammad ibn Sa'd ibn Muhammad Ladan ibn Idris ibn Is'haq ibn Maasiran ibn Ayyub ibn Bubab Baba ibn Abu Bakr ibn Musa Jokolli.

⁴⁵ He was *Shaykh* Muhammad ibn Abdullah al-Kharashi, (d. 1689), chief teacher and mufti of the Maliki school in Egypt.

⁴⁶ The idea of pilgrimage in Islamic Africa as a natural means of social mobilization and personal attainment has been exhausted in the study done by Dr. Umar an-Naggar in his West African Pilgrimage Traditions, Khartoum, Khartoum Univ. Press, 1977. This is evidence that this erudite clan had a global perspective and understood the broad cohesion of the Muslim Umma. The pilgrimage tradition opened the door of the vast possibilities that Islamic civilization offers to humanity.

⁴⁷ This marks the end of the third folio numbered folio03.jpg [see above footnote 19].

The *Shehu* Uthman went to seek knowledge from our *shaykh* **Jibril**⁴⁸ and accompanied him for almost a year. He studied with him until he came to the town of Agadez. Then *Shaykh* Jibril returned him to his father and went on pilgrimage. This is because Uthman's father had not given him permission to make the pilgrimage.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ [see Muhammad Bello, *Infaq al-Maysuur*, trans. Muhammad Shareef, pp. 19-20] "He was the Professor *al-Hajj* Jibril ibn Umar, the *Shaykh* of Islam, the realized scholar, the piercing exemplar, and the righteous man of *baraka*. My father (*Shehu Uthman Dan Fuduye*) said in his *Shifaah 'l-Ghaleel Fi Hillu Ma Ashkala Min Kalaam Shaykhina Jibril*, (where he was enumerating his merits) - "Among his merits, may Allah be pleased with him, is that he was one of those who upheld the banner of learning during his time. He was honored by visiting the Sacred House of Allah and visiting the grave of his Prophet Muhammad, may Allah bless him and grant him peace - at least twice. He reached the furthest limit in preoccupation with the Book of Allah and the *Sunna*. He directed the people towards them as well. He was the first to stand to drive out these blameworthy customs that prevail in these lands of ours, the *bilad 's-sudan*. It was by means of his *baraka* that this has been completed at our hands. He attained the furthest limit in sound worship, excellent character, and jealousy for the religion of Islam. He was forbearing, soft hearted and kind. He gave the best speech to those who encountered him. He never had hatred for anyone nor ever showed a frown on his face. He disclosed the best of speech to all people with a cheerful face until everyone considered themselves to be his closest friend. He was cheerful and good-natured. He was ennobled with the attire of dignity. In all his affairs, he demonstrated the most awe-inspiring demeanor. He reached the highest limit in exalting the Chosen One, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, until whenever he would refer to him he would call him - "the Best of Creation" (*Afdal 'l-Khalq*). The merits of *Shaykh* Jibril, may Allah be pleased with him, are numerous and incalculable. In what we have mentioned is sufficient for the one who desires to know them. We, by our relationship with his station, are like the relationship of the lame to the sturdy; or like the relationship of the hornet with the melody of the Psalms. For by Allah! We do not know if Allah would have guided us to the path of the *sunna* and avoiding blameworthy customs, had this blessed *shaykh* not clarified it for us. For everyone who revives the *sunna* and abolishes blameworthy customs in these lands of ours, the *bilad 's-sudan* - is simply a wave from his waves" [see Muhammad Bello *Infaq 'l-Maysuur Fi Tarikh Bilad 't-Takruur*, trans. Muhammad Shareef, Sankore' Institute ©, Houston, 1993, p. 19.]

⁴⁹. It was this occasion which prompted the *Shehu* to compose his first Arabic composition, yearning to be in the presence of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, where he said:

"Is there for me a way to travel swiftly towards *Tayba*,
To visit the tomb of the Hashimi Muhammad?
That which has spread its fragrance under his protection
Has caused the pilgrims to convulse in the direction of Muhammad
I went away bathed in tears, tears falling like a down pour,
Yearning towards that Prophet Muhammad
I swear by the *Rahman*, I possess not a single excellent trait,
I am only totally encompassed in the love of Prophet Muhammad."

The *Shehu* said about these years from age 20 to 31: "Allah ta'ala placed me under a down pour of spiritual states from my youth up until I reached the age of thirty-one years. Then I was divinely attracted by a light emanating from the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, generated by my sending the blessings and peace upon him, until I found myself in front of him, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. Prior to this spiritual state I had a strong desire to meet the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, so much so, that I often wept in anxiety. I also used to recite an elegy composed by Abu Sufyan ibn al-Haarith after the death of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. During my spiritual experience the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace asked me to recite this poem in his presence and I did. . .When I reached the verse: "he was our guide who prevented us from going astray, verily the Messenger of Allah is our leader"; he, may Allah bless him and grant him peace asked me to stop and I did. Then he gave me good tidings saying: 'I am your guide on the path of religion, you will never go astray.' To me these words meant more than the whole earth and what it contains." [see Uthman Dan Fuduye', *Tabshir 'l-Ikhwaan Min Iddi'a 'l-Mahdiyya 'l-Maw'uuda Aakhir 'z-Zamaan*,]

Now, *Shehu* Uthman informed me that he had studied *tafseer* of the *Qur'an* from the son of our paternal and maternal uncle, **Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn al-Amin**⁵⁰. He also told me that he was also present at the assembly of **Hashim az-Zamfara** and heard from him the *tafseer* of the *Qur'an* from its beginning to the end. I was with him at that time, but I was not occupied, then, with the science of *tafseer*. He learnt the science of prophetic traditions (*al-hadeeth*) from our maternal and paternal uncle, **al-Hajj Muhammad ibn Raj** ibn Modibo ibn Hamm ibn `Aal⁵¹, reading with him the entire Saheeh of al-Bukhari⁵², while I listened. Then he gave us license (*al-ijaaza*)⁵³ to pass on all the narrations that he received from his *shaykh*, Abu'l-Hassan Ali al-Madini, whose origin was from Sind. In short, the *shaykhs* of *Shehu* Uthman were many. Some of them I knew and some of them I did not know⁵⁴. Allah adapts affairs to the straight course. Let us return to enumerating the *shaykhs* from whom I took knowledge.

Among them was the son of our maternal uncle⁵⁵, **Muhammad ibn Muhammad**⁵⁶ from whom I learnt the Maqaamaat of al-Hariri⁵⁷ and other works. Among them was our paternal and maternal uncle, **Abdullahi ibn al-Hajj** al-Hassan ibn Hamm ibn `Aal⁵⁸ from whom I studied the grammatical works al-Qatr' n-Naada and its commentary called Shudhuur ad-Dhahab by al Maridini and its commentary called Buluugh 'l-'Arab, the al-Khulasa of Ibn Malik with its commentary al-Bahjat 'l-Mardiya by as-Suyuti⁵⁹ and other grammatical works.

Among them was **Ibrahim al-Barnawi** from whom I learned books concerning Arabic like the at-Tuhfat al-Wardiya, he having dictated its commentary to us by *Shaykh* Muhammad al-Wali. And like the al-Khulasa with parts of its commentary along with

⁵⁰ He was Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn al-Amin ibn Uthman ibn Hamm ibn `Aal ibn Muhammad Jubba ibn Muhammad Sanbu ibn ibn Maasiraan ibn Ayyub ibn Buuba Baaba ibn Abu Bakr ibn Musa Jokolli..

⁵¹ He was al-Hajj Muhammad ibn Raj ibn Modibo ibn Hamm ibn `Aal ibn Muhammad Jubba ibn Muhammad Sanbu ibn ibn Maasiraan ibn Ayyub ibn Buuba Baaba ibn Abu Bakr ibn Musa Jokolli.

⁵² He was Muhammad ibn Isma'il al-Bukhari (810-870). The most celebrated of all compilers of prophetic traditions. His collection, al-Jaam'u as-Saheeh is considered by consensus to be the most reliable of the collections of prophetic traditions.

⁵³ "The system of license (*al-ijaaza*) has been the custom of the people of *Bilad 's-Sudan* in their Islamic education since the 7th century *hijra*. It is a diploma, which is given to the students of education after the completion of particular text. The awarding of an *ijaaza* was customarily done through verbal pronouncement or written. The scholars designated three degrees in conferring the *ijaaza*. The first was the diploma received through listening (*shahaadat 's-samaa'*) where the student meticulously followed the exact wordings of the teacher and memorized them. The second was the contingent diploma (*shahaadat 'l-'arad*) where the student enumerated particular texts and committed them to memory and understood their commentaries. The final one was the complete license (*ijaazat 'l-kaamila*) where the student reached the stage where he could mention the chains of authority (*asaaneed*) going back to their original starting point." [see A Kabeera, ad-Dawlat al-Islamiyya, pp. 342-343].

⁵⁴ Gidadu mentions more than 89 *shaykhs* from whom the *Shehu* studied [see Gidadu ibn Laima, Rawdat 'l-Janaan, trans. Muhammad Shareef, Sankore Institute ©, Fairfield, 1994, p. 22-23].

⁵⁵ This marks the end of the fourth folio numbered folio04.jpg after 22 lines of colophon [see above footnote 19].

⁵⁶ He was Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Uthman ibn Hamm ibn `Aal ibn Jubba ibn Muhammad Sanbu ibn Ayyub ibn Maasiraan ibn Buuba Baaba ibn Abu Bakr ibn Musa Jakuli..

⁵⁷ *Shaykh* al-Qasim ibn Ali ibn Muhammad al-Hariri (d. 1123) author of the most widely used text on Arabic literature in the world, Maqaamat.

⁵⁸ He was Abdullahi ibn al-Hajj al-Hassan ibn Hamm ibn `Aal ibn Jubba ibn Muhammad Sanbu ibn Ayub ibn Maasiraan ibn Buuba Baaba ibn Abu Bakr ibn Musa Jakuli.

⁵⁹ Jalal 'd-Deen Abd'r-Rahman ibn Abu Bakr as-Suyuti, (1445-1505). Shafi' jurist and prolific writer. He was considered the *Mujaddid* of the 19th century.

Minhaj as-Saalik of as-Ushmuni and other works. Among them was **Muhammad ibn Abd'r-Rahman**, known as **Mujje'** from whom I also learned the al-Khulasa from the beginning to the end. Among them was the son of our paternal and maternal uncle, **Muhammad Sanbu ibn Muhammad** ibn Abdullahi ibn Ahmad ibn Hamm ibn `Aal ibn Jubba ibn Muhammad Sanbu ibn Ayyub ibn Maasiran, descendent of ancestors. I learned from him the al-Farida of as-Suyuti.

Among them was **Ibrahim al-Mandari** from whom I learned ad-Durar 'l-Lawami of at-Tahir, the ar-Ramiza in the sciences of prosody and al-Qawaafi wa 't-Taryaaq in the science of awqaaf, and other works. Among them was the son of our maternal and paternal uncle and our maternal aunt, **Muhammad al-Farabri** ibn Muhammad ibn Hamal ibn Ahmad ibn Hamm ibn `Aal<sup>60</sup>. His mother was `A'isha was the daughter of the son of the learned Muhammad ibn Sa'd⁶¹. From him I learned the science of logic (*al-mantiq*) and the al-Waraqaat of *Imam 'l-Haramayn*⁶² concerning the science of the origin of the law (*usuul 'l-fiqh*). Among them also was our learned and pious *shaykh*, **Ahmad ibn Abi Bakr** ibn Ghari who surpassed all his peers in learning and austerity. From him I learned books on the science of rhetoric (*al-balaagha*), such as at-Talkhis with its commentary, Alfiyat 'l-Ma`ani with its commentary, al-Jawhar al-Maknuun with its commentary, the commentary of an-Niqaya of as-Suyuti and other works.

Among them also was our *shaykh*, the *shaykh* of our *shaykhs*, the learned *Imam Jibril ibn Umar*, renown among the scholars in the lands of the east and the west. His good qualities are not in need of mention.⁶³ From I learned books on the origin of the law (*usuul 'l-fiqh*), such as the books of al-Qarafi, al-Kawkab as-Saati` and the Jamu` al-Jawaami` and its commentaries. I also read with him some of his own writings. I stayed with him and profited much from him. He instructed me, together with my brother and *shaykh*, the above-mentioned Uthman, initiating us in the pronunciation of the word of *tawheed*.⁶⁴ He also gave us license⁶⁵ to pass on all that he had related. He gave us the

⁶⁰ He was Muhammad al-Farabri ibn Muhammad ibn Hamal ibn Ahmad ibn Hamm ibn `Aal ibn Jubba ibn Muhammad Sanbu ibn Ayub ibn Maasiraan ibn Buuba Baaba ibn Musa Jakuli.

⁶¹ She was `A'isha bint Muhammad Sa'd ibn Daadan ibn Idris ibn Is'haq ibn Maasiraan ibn Buuba Baaba ibn Abu Bakr ibn Musa Jakuli.

⁶² He was Abu 'l-Ma`ali Abd'l-Malik al-Juwaymi, *Imam 'l-Haramayn* (1028-1085). Shafi` jurist and theologian from Mishapur, Persia and a leading exponent of the Ash'arite school of theology.

⁶³ See above footnote 45 for a more detailed discussion of the virtues of this *shaykh* and the role he played in reform in Central *Bilad 's-Sudan*.

⁶⁴ *Shehu* Uthman Dan Fuduye' gives the legal origin of the instructions of this noble *kalima* from the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. "As for his instruction, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, to his Companions individually, Ali ibn Abi Taalib, may Allah be pleased with him said, "I once asked the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace a question. I said, 'O Messenger of Allah! Guide me to the nearest path to Allah, the easiest path to His slaves and the best path with Allah ta'ala?' The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace said, 'O Ali! It is a must that you always be in the remembrance of Allah `azza wa jalla, secretly and openly (silently and aloud).' Ali, may Allah be pleased with him then said, 'All the people do remembrance of Allah. However, I want for you to single me out with something special.' Then the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace said, 'Pay attention Ali! The best of what I have said and the Prophets before me is **Laa ilaha illa Allah**. If the seven heavens and the seven earths were placed upon the scales and **Laa ilaha illa Allah** were placed upon the scales, then the **Laa ilaha illa Allah** would outweigh them.' Then the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace said, 'O Ali! the Hour will not be established as long as there is someone upon the earth who says **Laa ilaha illa Allah!**' Ali, may Allah be pleased with him then said, 'What is the methodology of saying it, O Messenger of Allah?' He,

Alfiyat 's-Sanad that his *shaykh*, al-Misri Murtada composed and gave him license to pass on, together with all that he related as well. It was this *shaykh* about whom my brother, the *Amir 'l-Mu'mineen* Uthman said praising him:

If there be said of me that which is said of good report
Then I am but a wave from the waves of Jibril.

I also praised him with a poetic song (*qasida*) in the letter *jeem* in which I joined him together in praise with his student, my brother, Uthman. Were it not for fear of tedium, I would set it down here. It is, however, well known.⁶⁶ I presented this poem

may Allah bless him and grant him peace said, 'Close your eyes and listen to me say **Laa ilaha illa Allah** three times. Then you say three times **Laa ilaha illa Allah** while I listen to you.' Then the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace raised his voice and said while his eyes were closed - **Laa ilaha illa Allah** three times while Ali listened. Then Ali, may Allah be pleased with him said while his eyes were closed - **Laa ilaha illa Allah** three times, while the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace listened.'" This is the foundation of the chain of authority of the People in the initiative instructions of the *kalimat 's-shahaada*. . . Then Ali, may Allah be pleased with him instructed al-Hassan 'l-Basri. Al-Hassan 'l-Basri instructed Dawuud 't-Taa'i. Dawuud instructed Ma'ruuf 'l-Karkhi. Ma'ruuf instructed Sariyya 's-Saqti. Saariyya 's-Saqti instructed Abu 'l-Qaasim 'l-Junayd 'l-Baghdadi, who was the *Imam* of the circle of the *Sufis*. To him has been attributed the majority of their chains of authority (*asaaneed*).'' He instructed Mamshad 'd-Dinawari. He instructed Muhammad 'd-Dinawari. He instructed Muhammad 'l-Bakri. He instructed Wajeeh 'd-Deen 'l-Qaadi. He instructed Umar al-Bakri. He instructed Abu 'n-Najib 's-Sahrawardi. He instructed Qutb 'd-Deen al-Abhaari. He instructed Rukn 'd-Deen Muhammad 'n-Najaashi. He instructed Shihab 'd-Deen Muhammad Shiraazi. He instructed Sidi Jamal 'd-Deen at-Tabrizi. He instructed Ibrahim 'z-Zaahid at-Taklaani. He instructed Muhammad al-Khalwati. He instructed his brother Umar al-Khawalti. He instructed Muhammad Mabraama al-Khalwati. He instructed Sidi al-Hajj 'Izza 'd-Deen. He instructed Shadr 'd-Deen al-Khayaali. He instructed Sidi Yahya al-Baakuubi. He instructed Muhammad Baha'd-Deen al-Arzdanjani. He instructed al-Jalabi Jamaal al-Khalwati. He instructed Khayr 'd-Deen at-Taawufaadi. He instructed Sha'baan Afendi al-Qastamuuni. He instructed Muhyi 'd-Deen al-Qastamuuni. He instructed Sidi Umar 'l-Fuw'aadi. He instructed Isma'il 'l-Juruumi. He instructed Ali Qara Pasha Afendi al-Anwaari. He instructed Mustafa Afendi 'l-Adranwi. He instructed Abd 'l-Latif 'l-Khalwati al-Halabi. He instructed Sidi Mustafa ibn Kamaal 'd-Deen 'l-Bakri. He instructed Muhammad as-Shareef ibn Saalim 'l-Hafnaawi. He instructed the above-mentioned *shaykh* Abu 'l-Amaana Jibril ibn Umar. [see Uthman Dan Fuduye', *as-Salaasil ad-Dhahabiyya*, trans. Muhammad Shareef, Sankore' Institute ©, Houston, 1991, pp. 4-9].

⁶⁵ This marks the end of the fifth folio numbered folio05.jpg [see above footnote 19].

⁶⁶ *Shaykh* Abdullahi narrated the text of this poem in his *Tazyeen al-Waraqaat*. This is part of the poem:

The *shaykh* of the *shaykhs*, the unique one of his age,
Outstanding above champions, crowned with sciences.
Jibril – by whom Allah has strengthened for us
A pure religion whose methodology is straight.
He discharged the trust when the faction of error were in a high place
In addition, the religion was in a low place like a thing made worthless.
He lifted from the religion the dark night of the infidelity
Of their customs and clothed the religion in golden raiment.
He did not fear in manifesting the religion of Allah
Those who make fun nor those who hem and haw with criticism.
He has lion cubs that represent him, acting on his behalf.
The lion cub when examined close is like the tribe of Khazraj.
Thus, there dawned for him as assistant the *Nuur az-Zamaan*
Like a forearm in opening the door of religion which was firmly locked.
He manifested the religion of Allah in the presence of His enemies
Moreover, he did not yield or back step to the lies of those who were obstinate.
Uthman, who has come to us during a time of darkness
Moreover, removed from us every gloomy intense darkness.

Shaykh Jibril, who took it from me, considered it, and praised it. Then he prayed for me with a prayer that I shall not forget, in which he included all those who assisted religion and said: ‘O Allah cause him who helps your religion to be victorious.’

Among them was our companion, our paternal and maternal cousin, **Mustafa ibn al-Hajj Uthman** ibn Muhammad⁶⁷. He was one of the students of *Shaykh* Jibril and others. From him I took all of the al-Kawkab as-Sati`. He helped me with issues in the text that I did not understand when I studied it with *Shaykh* Jibril. Among them was our maternal and paternal uncle, **al-Hajj Muhammad ibn Raj**, whose genealogy is give above⁶⁸. I heard from him the Saheeh of al-Bukhari and he gave us license in all of the works he received transmission. Among them was our maternal and paternal uncle, **Muhammad**, known as **Bu`tighu** ibn Muhammad ibn al-Hajj Abd`r-Rahman ibn Ghiru ibn Muhammad Sanbu (with the above mentioned genealogy⁶⁹). I attended his lectures many times and profited from him in many diverse sciences, such that I cannot enumerate. I studied with him the Alfiyat al-Athar of as-Suyuti and was given license to pass on all of his transmissions.

Among them was our *shaykh*, the *shaykh* of our *shaykhs*, **Muhammad al-Maghara**, illustrious as the sun in our country for teaching the Al-Mukhtasar. Anyone in our country who had not studied the Al-Mukhtasar with him in his time, it was as if he had not studied it at all. I read to him the entire first part of the Al-Mukhtasar in the year 1200 from the prophetic *hijra*⁷⁰ I then read the second part with his disciple famous as the *Imam* because he was one of the *imams* which the *Amir* ‘l-Mu`mineen appointed over the his mosque (in Sokoto). He was **Muhammad Sanbu ibn Abd`r-Rahman** who attained martyrdom during the *jihad* against the disbelievers.

Among them was our *Imam* and multitalented *shaykh*, **Mahmud ‘z-Zanfari ‘t-Tawri** from whom I took the science of *Qur’anic* recitation such as the composition in verse of Ibn al-Barri and the song in verse by as-Shatibi. Among them was our *shaykh*, **Abd`r-Rahman ibn⁷¹ Muhammad** from whom I profited concerning the intricacies of the science of grammar (*‘ilm ‘n-nahw*). He gave me license to pass on all that he narrated, from those texts he learned from his father, Hamada, who received them from *Shaykh* Ghabindi, whose chain of authority (*sanad*) is well known. Uthman (Dan Fuduye’) cited these in his Asaanid ‘l-Faqir⁷² and other works.

I am unable to enumerate all of the *shaykhs* from whom I acquired knowledge, but these were the principle ones among them. How many scholars and seekers of knowledge came to us from the east from which I profited, so many that I cannot count them? In addition, how many scholars and seekers of knowledge came to us from the west from which I profited, so many that I cannot count them? May Allah reward all of them with His pleasure and adorn them with being resident in His Paradise. May He give us from

[see Abdullahi Dan Fuduye’, Tazyin al-Waraqaat, trans. M. Hiskett, Ibadan, Ibadan University Press, 1963, p. 92].

⁶⁷ He was Mustafa ibn al-Hajj Uthman Bidduri ibn Muhammad al-Amin ibn Uthman ibn Hamm ibn `Aal ibn Jubba ibn Muhammad Sanbu ibn Ayub ibn Maasiraan ibn Buuba Baaba ibn Abu Bakr ibn Musa Jakuli.

⁶⁸ See above footnote 48.

⁶⁹ He was Muhammad Bu`tighu ibn Muhammad ibn al-Hajj Abd `r-Rahman ibn Ghiru ibn Muhammad Sanbu ibn Ayub ibn Maasiraan ibn Buuba Baaba ibn Abu Bakr ibn Musa Jakuli.

⁷⁰ This was in the year 1785 C.E..

⁷¹ This marks the end of the sixth folio numbered folio06.jpg [see above footnote 19].

⁷² Asaanid ‘l-Faqir al-Muta`arif Bi ‘-`Ajz Wa ‘l-Taqdir, written in 1798 and gives an account of the chains of authority which the *Shehu* received from all of his teachers and the text and sciences he received.

their *baraka*. Here, I have gathered them together for you in poetic verse so that memorization of them will be made easy. Allah is the One who orders all affairs and He is enough for me and the best of Guardians.

Pay attention to the poem of my *shaykhs*, the first of them was **my father**

He was our teacher in the *Qur'an* and he taught us good courtesy.

After him was **Uthman**, my blood brother, and my support

My lamp in the sciences of the *shari'a*, my *madh'hab*.

He taught me al-'Ishriniyaat and similar works

And syntax and the poets in the way that you teach a child.

In the sciences of *tawheed* and spiritual purification

He gave me drink and satisfied me in self-reckoning that draws one near.

Jurisprudence, *Qur'anic tafseer* along with prophetic traditions

With all of his writings, I obtained what I desired and hoped for.

I took the Maqaamaat of al-Hariri from my brother

Muhammad, the beloved son of our maternal aunt.

My *shaykhs* in the sciences of grammar and conjugation were my maternal uncle

That is **Abdullahi**, who was also my paternal uncle from my father.

Also **Mujje'**, **Ibrahim Barnawi** and **Mandara**

Also **Sanbu al-Marrata** who was one of my close relatives.

From **Abd 'r-Rahman** the descendent of Muhammad

I took the intricacies of grammar and received license in what I wished.

Then our companion, meaning **al-Farabri**, a veritable reference

For the science of logic, exalted above every fixed star and planet.

The sciences of rhetoric and the commentary upon an-Niqaya

I took from **Ahmad Ghaari**, the ascetic and master of literature.

The science of the origin of the law, I took from the *shaykh* of our *shaykhs*

Our exemplar, **Jibril** and in these sciences his was like the rain clouds.

He gave us license to pass on what he had narrated from his *shaykhs*

He initiated us in the science of *tawheed*, the greatest gift given me.

Then his disciple, our companion, by whom I profited

Al-Mustafa al-Hajj from the seminal text Kawkab.

And from **al-Hajj**, my paternal uncle, the son of Raj, **Muhammad**

I took by hearing the Saheeh of al-Bukhari the perfumed one⁷³.

He gave us license in the remainder of the books of prophetic tradition

From what he took from Ali in the city of Medina, Yathrib.

With **Bu'tighu**, my *shaykh*, I attained Alfiyat al-Athar

As well as other sciences, he gave me license to pass on what I desired.

And from **Shaykh Maghara** the first part of the Al-Mukhtasar

Of Khalil, we took from him and he was the most exquisite vessel.

Its second part was from his disciple, that is, our beloved

The **Imam Muhammad Sanbu**, the most excellent source.

And the science of *Qur'anic* recitation, I drank its pure water

From **Shaykh Mahmud** whose ancestry is from Tawra (Daura).

With the science of prosody and al-Qawaafi with the Ramiza

The science of *awqaaf*, **Ibrahim Mandara** was my drinking place.

How many scholars and seekers profited me

⁷³ This marks the end of the seventh folio numbered folio07.jpg [see above footnote 19].

With sciences, whether they were easterners or westerners?
May my Lord give all of them to drink and make me drink of their love
With the milk of praise between the rain clouds of Divine Contentment.
By the rank of the Messenger of Allah, blessings be upon him along
With his Companions and everyone brought nigh to You, my Lord.

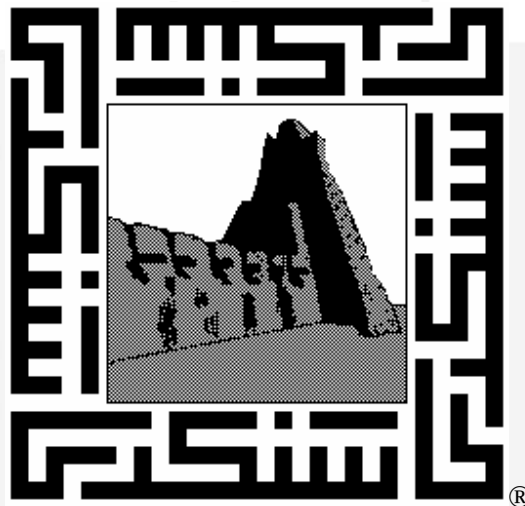
This is the last of what I intended to prepare regarding the *Shaykhs* from whom I took knowledge. All praises are due to Allah who has blessed us with the favors of *Iman* and *Islam* and guided us by means of our master and chief, Muhammad, upon him be the best blessings and most perfect peace. The author says, Allah has facilitated the gathering of this text on Monday, the last of *Ramadhan* in the year 1227 after the prophetic *hijra* (1812 C.E.), upon him be the best blessings and most perfect peace. The last of our supplication is all praises are due to Allah the Lord of the worlds. May Allah bless Muhammad, his family and Companions and give them peace. The penmanship was complete at the time of forenoon (*ad-duhaa*) of Friday at the hands of the poorest of the Disciples and the most needy of them for the mercy of Allah **Diidaku Uthman ibn Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Abi Bakr** – who is nicknamed *`Aadil*. O Allah forgive me, my parents and all of the Muslims by the rank of the master of the Prophets and Messengers. Ameen.⁷⁴

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⁷⁴ This marks the end of the eighth folio numbered folio06.jpg [see above footnote 19].

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